

Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom

PROTOCOL No. I

LET us put aside phraseology and discuss the inner meaning of every thought; by comparisons and deductions let us illuminate the situation. In this way I will describe our system, both from our own point of view and from that of the Goys.¹

It must be remembered that people with base instincts are more numerous than those with noble ones; therefore, the best results in governing are achieved through violence and intimidation and not through academic discussion. Every man seeks power; every one would like to become a dictator if he possibly could; and rare indeed are those who would not sacrifice the common good in order to attain personal advantage.

What has restrained the wild beasts we call men?

What has influenced them heretofore?

In the early stages of social life they submitted to brute and blind force; afterwards — to the Law, which is the same force but disguised. I deduce from this that according to the laws of nature, right lies in might.

Political freedom is not a fact but an idea. One must know how to employ this idea when it becomes necessary to attract popular forces to one's party by mental allurements if it plans to crush the party in power. The task is made easier if the opponent himself has contradicted the idea of freedom, the so-called liberalism, and for the sake of the idea yields his power. It is precisely here that the triumph of our theory becomes apparent: the relinquished reins of power are, according to the laws of nature, immediately seized by a new hand because the

¹ The Goys — the Gentiles.

THE PROTOCOLS

blind force of the people cannot remain without a leader even for one day, and the new power merely replaces the old, weakened by liberalism.

In our day the *power of gold* has replaced liberal rulers. There was a time when faith ruled. The idea of freedom cannot be realized because no one knows how to make reasonable use of it. Give the people self-government for a short time and it will become corrupted. From that very moment strife begins and soon develops into social struggles, as a result of which states are set aflame and their authority is reduced to ashes.

Whether the state is exhausted by internal convulsions, or whether civil wars deliver it into the hands of external enemies, in either case it can be regarded as hopelessly lost: it is in our power. The despotism of capital, which is entirely in our hands, holds out to it a straw which the state must grasp, although against its will, or otherwise fall into the abyss.

To him who, because of his liberal inclinations, would contend that arguments of this kind are immoral, I would propound the question: If a state has two enemies, and if against the external enemy it is permitted and it is not considered immoral to use all methods of warfare, and as a protective measure not to acquaint the enemy with the plans of attack, such as night attacks or attacks with superior forces, then why should the same methods be regarded as immoral when applied to a worse foe, a transgressor against social order and prosperity?

How can a sound and logical mind hope successfully to guide the masses by means of reasonable persuasion or by arguments if there is a possibility of contradiction, even though unreasonable, but which may appear more attractive to the superficially thinking masses? Guided entirely by shallow passions, superstitions, customs, traditions, and sentimental theories, the people in and of the mob become embroiled in party dissensions which prevent all possibility of an agreement, even though it be on a basis of perfectly sound reasoning. Every decision of the mob depends upon the accidental or prearranged majority, which, owing to its ignorance of political secrets, pronounces absurd decisions, thus introducing the seeds of anarchy into the government.

THE PROTOCOLS

Politics have nothing in common with morals. The ruler guided by morality is not a skilled politician, and consequently he is not firm on his throne. He who desires to rule must resort to cunning and hypocrisy. The great popular qualities — honesty and frankness — become vices in politics, as they dethrone more surely and more certainly than the most powerful enemy. These qualities must be the attributes of Goy countries; but we by no means should be guided by them.

Our right lies in might. The word "right" is an abstract idea, unsusceptible of proof. This word means nothing more than: Give me what I desire so that I may have evidence that I am stronger than you.

Where does right begin? Where does it end?

In a state with a poorly organized government and where the laws are insignificant, and the ruler has lost his dignity as the result of the accumulation of liberal rights, I find a new right, namely, the right of might to destroy all existing order and institutions, to lay hands on the law, to alter all institutions, and to become the ruler of those who have voluntarily, liberally renounced for our benefit the rights to their own power.

With the present instability of all authority our power will be more unassailable than any other, because it will be invisible until it is so well rooted that no cunning can undermine it.

From temporary evil to which we are now obliged to have recourse will emerge the good of an unshakable government, which will reinstate the orderly functioning of the mechanism of popular existence now interrupted by liberalism. The end justifies the means. In laying our plans we must turn our attention not so much to the good and moral as to the necessary and useful. Before us lies a plan in which a strategic line is shown, from which we must not deviate on pain of risking the collapse of many centuries of work.

In working out an expedient plan of action it is necessary to take into consideration the meanness, vacillation, changeability of the mob, its inability to appreciate and respect the conditions of its own existence and of its own well-being. It is necessary to realize that the power of the masses is blind, unreasoning, and void of discrimination, prone to listen to right and left. The blind man cannot guide the blind without bringing them to the abyss; consequently, members of the crowd, upstarts from the people, even were they men of

THE PROTOCOLS

genius but incompetent in politics, cannot step forward as leaders of the mob without ruining the entire nation.

Only the person prepared from childhood to autocracy can understand the words which are formed by political letters.

The people left to themselves, that is to upstarts from among them, are ruined by party dissensions created by greed for power and honors, and by the disorders resulting therefrom. Is it possible for the masses of the people to direct the affairs of the state without rivalry, and without interjecting personal interests? Are they capable of protecting themselves against external enemies?—This is impossible, since a plan divided into as many parts as there are minds in a mob loses its unity, and consequently, becomes incomprehensible and unworkable.

Only an autocrat can outline great and clear plans which allocate in an orderly manner all the parts of the mechanism of the government machinery. From this it is concluded that the government which is the most efficient for the benefit of a country must be concentrated in the hands of one responsible person. Civilization cannot exist without absolute despotism, for government is carried on not by the masses, but by their leader, whoever he may be. A barbarous crowd shows its barbarism on every occasion. The moment the mob grasps liberty in its hands it is speedily changed to anarchy, which is in itself the height of barbarism.

Look at those beasts, steeped in alcohol, stupefied by wine, the unlimited use of which is granted by liberty.

Surely you cannot allow our own people to come to this. The people of the Goys are stupefied by spirituous liquors; their youth is driven insane through excessive study of the classics, and vice to which they have been instigated by our agents—tutors, valets, governesses—in rich houses, by clerks, and so forth, and by our women in the pleasure places of the Goys. Among the latter I include the so-called “society women,” their volunteer followers in vice and luxury.

Our motto is Power and Hypocrisy. Only power can conquer in politics, especially if it is concealed in talents which are necessary to statesmen. Violence must be the principle; hypocrisy and cunning the rule of those governments which do not wish to lay down their crowns at the feet of the agents of some new power. This evil is the sole means of attaining

THE PROTOCOLS

the goal of good. For this reason we must not hesitate at bribery, fraud, and treason when these can help us to reach our end. In politics it is necessary to seize the property of others without hesitation if in so doing we attain submission and power.

Our government, following the line of peaceful conquest, has the right to substitute for the horrors of war less noticeable and more efficient executions, these being necessary to keep up terror, which induces blind submission. A just but inexorable strictness is the greatest factor of governmental power. We must follow a program of violence and hypocrisy, not only for the sake of profit, but also as a duty and for the sake of victory.

A doctrine based on calculation is as potent as the means employed by it. That is why not only by these very means, but by the severity of our doctrines, we shall triumph and shall enslave all governments under our super-government.

Even in olden times we shouted among the people the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." These words have been repeated so many times since by unconscious parrots, which, flocking from all sides to the bait, have ruined the prosperity of the world and true individual freedom, formerly so well protected from the pressure of the mob. The would-be clever and intelligent Goys did not discern the symbolism of the uttered words; did not notice the contradiction in the meaning and the connection between them; did not notice that there is no equality in nature; that there can be no liberty, since nature herself has established inequality of mind, character, and ability, as well as subjection to her laws. They did not reason that the power of the mob is blind; that the upstarts selected for government are just as blind in politics as is the mob itself, whereas the initiated man, even though a fool, is capable of ruling, while the uninitiated, although a genius, will understand nothing of politics. All this has been overlooked by the Goys.

Meanwhile dynastic government has been based upon this, that the father passed to his son the knowledge of the course of political evolution, so that nobody except the members of the dynasty could possess this knowledge, and no one could disclose the secrets to the governed people. In the course of time the meaning of the dynastic transmission of the true

THE PROTOCOLS

understanding of politics has been lost, thus contributing to the success of our cause.

In all parts of the world the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" have brought whole legions into our ranks through our blind agents, carrying our banners with delight. Meanwhile these words were worms which ruined the prosperity of the Goys, everywhere destroying peace, quiet, and solidarity, undermining all the foundations of their states. You will see subsequently that this aided our triumph, *for it also gave us, among other things, the opportunity to grasp the trump card, the abolition of privileges; in other words, the very essence of the aristocracy of the Goys, which was the only protection of peoples and countries against us.*

On the ruins of natural and hereditary aristocracy we built an aristocracy of our intellectual class — the money aristocracy. We have established this new aristocracy on the qualification of wealth, which is dependent upon us, and also upon science, which is promoted by our wise men.

Our triumph was also made easier because, through our connections with people who were indispensable to us, we always played upon the most sensitive chords of the human mind, namely, greed, and the insatiable selfish desires of man. Each of these human weaknesses taken separately is capable of killing initiative and of placing the will of the people at the disposal of the buyer of their activities.

Abstract liberty offered the opportunity for convincing the masses that government is nothing but the manager representing the owner of the country, namely, the people, and that this manager can be discarded like a pair of worn-out gloves.

The fact that the representatives of the nation can be deposed, delivers them into our power and practically places their appointment in our hands.

PROTOCOL No. II

IT is necessary for us that wars, whenever possible, should bring no territorial advantages; this will shift war to an economic basis and force nations to realize the strength of our predominance; such a situation will put both sides at the mercy of our million-eyed international agency, which will be

THE PROTOCOLS

unhampered by any frontiers. Then our international rights will do away with national rights, in a limited sense, and will rule the peoples in the same way as the civil power of each state regulates the relation of its subjects among themselves.

The administrators chosen by us from among the people in accordance with their capacity for servility will not be experienced in the art of government, and consequently they will easily become pawns in our game, in the hands of our scientists and wise counselors, specialists trained from early childhood for governing the world. As you are aware, these specialists have obtained the knowledge necessary for government from our political plans, from the study of history, and from the observation of every passing event. The Goys are not guided by the practice of impartial historical observation, but by theoretical routine without any critical regard for its results. Therefore, we need give them no consideration. Until the time comes let them amuse themselves, or live in the hope of new amusements or in the memories of those past. Let that play the most important part for them which we have induced them to regard as the laws of science (theory). For this purpose, by means of our press, we increase their blind faith in these laws. Intelligent Goys will boast of their knowledge, and verifying it logically they will put into practice all scientific information compiled by our agents for the purpose of educating their minds in the direction which we require.

Do not think that our assertions are without foundation: note the successes of Darwinism, Marxism, and Nietzscheism, engineered by us. The demoralizing effects of these doctrines upon the minds of the Goys should be already obvious to us.

It is essential that we take into consideration the modern ideas, temperaments, and tendencies of peoples in order that no mistakes in politics and in guiding administrative affairs may be made. The triumph of our system, parts of whose mechanism must be adapted in accordance with the temperament of the peoples with whom we come in contact, cannot be realized unless its practical application is based upon a résumé of the past as related to the present.

There is one great force in the hands of modern states which arouses thought movements among the people. That is the press. The rôle of the press is to indicate necessary demands,

THE PROTOCOLS

to register complaints of the people, and to express and foment dissatisfaction. The triumph of free babbling is incarnated in the press; but governments were unable to profit by this power *and it has fallen into our hands*. Through it we have attained influence, while remaining in the background. Thanks to the press, we have gathered gold in our hands, although we had to take it from rivers of blood and tears.

But it cost us the sacrifice of many of our own people. Every sacrifice on our part is worth a thousand Goys before God.

PROTOCOL No. III

TO-DAY I can tell you that our goal is close at hand. Only a small distance remains, and the cycle of the *Symbolic Serpent*—the symbol of our people—will be complete. When this circle is completed, then all the European states will be enclosed in it as in strong claws.

The modern constitutional scales will soon tip over, for we have set them inaccurately, thus insuring an unsteady balance for the purpose of wearing out their holder. The Goys thought it had been sufficiently strongly made and hoped that the scales would regain their equilibrium, but the holder—the ruler—is screened from the people by his representatives, who fritter away their time, carried away by their uncontrolled and irresponsible authority. Their power, moreover, has been built up on terrorism spread through the palaces. Unable to reach the hearts of their people, the rulers cannot unite with them to gain strength against the usurpers of power. The visible power of royalty and the blind power of the masses, *separated by us*, have both lost significance, for separated, they are as helpless as the blind man without a stick.

To induce the lovers of authority to abuse their power, we have placed all the forces in opposition to each other, having developed their liberal tendencies towards independence. We have excited different forms of initiative in that direction; we have armed all the parties; we have made authority the target of all ambitions. We have opened the arenas in different states, where revolts are now occurring, *and disorders and bankruptcy will shortly appear everywhere*.

THE PROTOCOLS

Unrestrained babblers have converted parliamentary sessions and administrative meetings into oratorical contests. Daring journalists, impudent pamphleteers, make daily attacks on the administrative personnel. The abuse of power is definitely preparing the downfall of all institutions and everything will be overturned by the blows of the infuriated mobs.

The people are shackled by poverty to heavy labor more surely than they were by slavery and serfdom. They could liberate themselves from those in one way or another, whereas they cannot free themselves from misery. We have included in constitutions rights which for the people are fictitious and are not actual rights. All the so-called "rights of the people" can exist only in the abstract and can never be realized in practice. What difference does it make to the toiling proletarian, bent double by heavy toil, oppressed by his fate, that the babblers receive the right to talk, journalists the right to mix nonsense with reason in their writings, if the proletariat has no other gain from the constitution than the miserable crumbs which we throw from our table in return for his vote to elect our agents. Republican rights are bitter irony to the poor man, for the necessity of almost daily labor prevents him from using them, and at the same time deprives him of his guarantee of a permanent and certain livelihood by making him dependent upon strikes, organized either by his masters or by his comrades.

Under our guidance the people have exterminated aristocracy, which was their natural protector and guardian, for its own interests are inseparably connected with the well-being of the people. Now, however, with the destruction of this aristocracy the masses have fallen under the power of the profiteers and cunning upstarts, who have settled on the workers as a merciless burden.

We will present ourselves in the guise of saviors of the workers from this oppression when we suggest that they enter our army of Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, to whom we always extend our help, under the guise of the rule of brotherhood demanded by the human solidarity of our *social masonry*. The aristocracy which benefited by the labor of the people by right was interested that the workers should be well fed, healthy, and strong.

We, on the contrary, are concerned in the opposite — in the

THE PROTOCOLS

degeneration of the Goys. Our power lies in the chronic malnutrition and in the weakness of the worker, because through this he falls under our power and is unable to find either strength or energy to combat it.

Hunger gives to capital greater power over the worker than the legal authority of the sovereign ever gave to the aristocracy. Through misery and the resulting jealous hatred we manipulate the mob and crush those who stand in our way.

When the time comes for our universal ruler to be crowned, the same hands will sweep away everything which may be an obstacle in our way.

The Goys are no longer accustomed to think without our scientific advice. Consequently, they do not see the imperative need of upholding that which we will sustain by all means when our kingdom is established, namely, the teaching in the schools of *the only true science, the first of all sciences — the science of the construction of human life, of social existence, which requires the division of labor and, consequently, the separation of people into classes and castes.* It is necessary that all should know that *equality cannot exist, owing to the different nature of various kinds of work*; that there cannot be the same responsibility before the law in the case of an individual who by his actions compromises an entire caste and another who does not affect anything but his own honor.

The correct science of the social structure, to the secrets of which we do not admit the Goys, would demonstrate to all that occupation and labor must be differentiated so as not to cause human suffering by the discrepancy between education and work. The study of this science will lead the masses to a voluntary submission to the authorities and to the governmental system organized by them. Whereas, under the present state of science, and due to the direction of our guidance therein, the people, in their ignorance, blindly believing the printed word, and owing to the misconceptions which have been fostered by us, feel a hatred towards all classes whom they consider superior to themselves, since they do not understand the importance of each caste.

This hatred will be still more accentuated by the *economic crisis*, which will stop financial transactions and all industrial life. Having organized a general economic crisis by all possible underhand means, and with the help of gold which is all

THE PROTOCOLS

in our hands, we will throw great crowds of workmen into the street, simultaneously, in all countries of Europe. These crowds will gladly shed the blood of those of whom they, in the simplicity of their ignorance, have been jealous since childhood and whose property they will then be able to loot.

They will not harm our people because we will know of the time of the attack and we will take measures to protect them.

We have persuaded others that progress will lead the Goys into a realm of reason. Our despotism will be of such a nature that it will be in a position to pacify all revolts by wise restrictions and to eliminate liberalism from all institutions.

When the people saw that they obtained concessions and license in the name of liberty, they imagined that they were the masters, and rushed into power; but like every blind person, they encountered innumerable obstacles; *they rushed to seek a leader, with no thought of returning to the old one*, and laid power at our feet. Remember the French Revolution, which we have called "great"; the secrets of its preparation are well known to us, for it was the work of our hands.

Since then we have carried the masses from one disappointment to another, so that they will renounce even us in favor of a *despot sovereign of Zionist blood, whom we are preparing for the world.*

At present, as an international force, we are invulnerable, because if we are attacked by one state we are supported by other states. The unlimited baseness of the Goy peoples, who grovel before force, who are pitiless towards weakness, who are merciless to misdemeanors and lenient to crimes, who are unwilling to tolerate the contradictions of a free social structure; patient unto martyrdom in bearing with the violence of daring despotism—this is what helps our independence. They tolerate and permit such abuses from their modern premiers—dictators—for the least of which they would behead twenty kings.

How can such a phenomenon be explained, such an illogical conception on the part of the mass of the people towards events of seemingly the same nature? This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that these dictators through their agents whisper to their people that by these abuses they injure the states for a supreme purpose, namely, for the attainment of the happiness of the people, their universal fraternity, soli-

THE PROTOCOLS

darity, and equality. Of course, they are not told that this unification will be achieved only under our rule. Thus, the people condemn the just and acquit the unjust, more and more convinced that they can do what they please. Owing to this, the people destroy all stability and create disorder on every occasion.

The word "Liberty" brings all society into conflict with all authority, be it that of God or Nature. This is why, at the moment of our enthronement, we shall strike this word from the dictionary as being the symbol of brute power, which turns the masses into bloodthirsty beasts. It is true, however, that these beasts go to sleep as soon as they have drunk blood, and then it is easy to shackle them; but if the blood is not given to them they will not sleep and will struggle.

PROTOCOL No. IV

EVERY republic passes through several stages. The first stage is like the early period of insane ravings of a blind man throwing himself right and left. The second is the demagoguery which breeds anarchy, which inevitably leads to despotism, not of a legal and open character and, consequently, responsible, but an unseen and unknown despotism, no less effective because exercised by some secret organization, acting even less ceremoniously because it is hidden under the cover and behind the backs of different agents. The change of these agents will even help the secret organizations, as it will thus be able to rid itself of the necessity of spending money to reward employees of long terms of service.

Who and what can overthrow an unseen power? For such is the character of our power. *External Masonry¹ acts as a screen for it and its aims, but the plan of action of this power, and its very headquarters, will always remain unknown to the people.*

Liberty could also be harmless and remain on the state program without detriment to the well-being of the people

¹ The reference is probably to those Masonic Lodges in Continental Europe which, contrary to the fundamental principles of Anglo-Saxon Lodges, have been converted into *quasi* political and anti-Christian organizations. See Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, Article "Freemasonry," Vol. XI, p. 84.

THE PROTOCOLS

if it were to retain the ideas of the belief in God and human fraternity, free from the conception of equality for such a conception is in contradiction to the laws of nature which establish subordination. With such a faith the people would be governed by the guardians of the parish and would thrive quietly and obediently under the guidance of their spiritual leader, accepting God's dispensation on earth. It is for this reason that we must undermine faith, tearing from the minds of the Goys the very principal of God and Soul, and substituting mathematical formulas and material needs.

In order that the minds of the Goys may have no time to think and notice things, it is necessary to divert them in the direction of industry and commerce. Thus all nations will seek their own profit, and while engaged in the struggle they will not notice their common enemy. But in order that liberty should finally undermine and ruin the Goy's society, it is necessary to put industry on a basis of speculation. The result of this will be that everything, absorbed by industry from the land, will not remain in the hands of the Goys, but will be directed towards speculation; that is, it will come into our coffers.

The intense struggle for supremacy, the shocks to economic life, will create, moreover have already created, disappointed, cold, and heartless societies. These societies will have complete disgust for high politics and religion. Their only guide will be calculation, *i.e.*, gold, for which they will have a real cult because of the material delights which it can supply. It will be at that stage that the lower classes of the Goys, not for the sake of doing good, nor even for the sake of wealth, but solely because of their hatred towards the privileged, will follow us against our competitors for power, the intelligent Goys.

PROTOCOL No. V

WHAT form of government can be given to societies in which bribery has penetrated everywhere, where riches are obtained only by clever tricks and semi-fraudulent means, where corruption reigns, where morality is sustained by punitive measures and strict laws and not by voluntary acceptance of moral principles, where cosmopolitan convictions have elimi-

THE PROTOCOLS

nated patriotic feelings and religion? What form of government can be given to such societies other than a despotism such as I shall describe?

We will create a strong centralized government, so as to gather the social forces into our power. We will mechanically regulate all the functions of political life of our subjects by new laws. These laws will gradually eliminate all the concessions and liberties permitted by the Goys. Our kingdom will be crowned by such a majestic despotism that it will be able, at all times and in all places, to crush both antagonistic and discontented Goys.

We may be told that the despotism outlined by me is inconsistent with modern progress, but I will prove to you that the contrary is the case.

At the time when people considered rulers as an incarnation of the will of God, they subjected themselves without murmur to the autocracy of the sovereigns; but as soon as we inspired them with the thought of their personal rights, they began to regard the rulers as ordinary mortals. The holy anointment fell from the heads of sovereigns in the opinion of the people; and when we deprived them of their belief in God, then authority was thrown into the street, where it became public property and was seized by us. Moreover, the art of governing the masses and individuals by means of cunningly constructed theories and phraseology, by rulers of social life, and other devices not understood by the Goys, belongs, among other faculties, to our administrative mind, which is educated in analysis and observation, and is also based upon skillful reasoning in which we have no competitors, just as we have none in the preparation of plans for political action and solidarity. Only the Jesuits could be compared to us in this; but we were able to discredit them in the mind of the senseless mob as a visible organization, whereas we, with our secret organization, remained in the dark. After all, is it not the same to the world who will be its master—whether it be the head of Catholicism or our despot of Zionist blood? To us, however, the Chosen People, it is by no means a matter of indifference.

Temporarily, a world coalition of the Goys would be able to hold us in check, but we are insured against this by roots of dissension so deep among them that they cannot now be extracted. We have set at variance the personal and national

THE PROTOCOLS

interests of the Goys; we have incited religious and race hatred, nurtured by us in their hearts for twenty centuries. Owing to all this, no state will obtain the help it asks for from any side because each of them will think that a coalition against us will be disadvantageous to it. We are too powerful — *we must be taken into consideration. No country can reach even an insignificant private understanding without our being secret parties to it.*

Per me reges regnant — “Through me the sovereigns reign.” The prophets have told us that we were chosen by God himself to reign over the world. God endowed us with genius to enable us to cope with the problem. Were there a genius in the opposing camp, he would struggle against us, but a newcomer is not equal to an old inhabitant. The struggle between us would be of such a merciless nature as the world has never seen before; moreover their genius would be too late.

All the wheels of government mechanism move by the action of the motor which is in our hands, and *that motor is gold*. The science of political economy, invented by our wise men, has long ago demonstrated the royal prestige of capital.

To attain freedom of action, capital must obtain freedom to monopolize industry and trade; this is already being done by an unseen hand in all parts of the world. Such liberty will give political power to traders, and will aid in subjugating the people. At present it is more important to disarm peoples than to lead them to war; it is more important to utilize flaming passions for our purposes than to extinguish them; more important to grasp and interpret the thoughts of others in our own way than to discard them.

The most important problem of our government is to weaken the popular mind by criticism; to disaccustom it to thought, which creates opposition; to deflect the power of thought into mere empty eloquence.

At all times both peoples and individuals have mistaken words for deeds, as they are satisfied with the visible, rarely noticing whether the promise is performed in the fields of social life.

Therefore, we will organize ostensible institutions which will prove eloquently their good work in the direction of “progress.”

THE PROTOCOLS

We will appropriate to ourselves the liberal aspect of all parties, of all shades of opinion, and we will provide our *orators with the same aspect, and they will talk so much that they will exhaust the people by their speeches and cause them to turn away from orators in disgust.*

To control public opinion it is necessary to perplex it by the expression of numerous contradictory opinions until the Goy's get lost in the labyrinth, and come to understand that it is best to have no opinion on political questions.

Such questions are not intended to be understood by the people, since only he who rules knows them. This is the first secret.

The second secret necessary for the success of governing consists in so multiplying popular failings, habits, passions, and conventional laws that no one will be able to disentangle himself in the chaos, and consequently, people will cease to understand each other. This measure would help us to sow dissension within all parties, to disintegrate all those collective forces which still do not wish to subjugate themselves to us; to discourage all individual initiative which might in any degree hamper our work.

There is nothing more dangerous than individual initiative; if it has a touch of genius it can accomplish more than a million people among whom we have sown dissensions. We must direct the education of the Goy societies so that their arms will drop hopelessly when they face every task where initiative is required. The intensity of action resulting from individual freedom of action dissipates its force when it encounters another person's freedom. This results in heavy blows at morale, disappointments and failures.

We will so tire the Goy's by all this that we will force them to offer us an international power, which by its position will enable us conveniently to absorb, without destroying, all governmental forces of the world and thus to form a super-government. In lieu of modern rulers, we will place a monster which will be called the Super-Governmental Administration. Its hands will be stretched out like pincers in every direction so that this colossal organization cannot fail to conquer all the peoples.

THE PROTOCOLS

PROTOCOL No. VI

WE will soon begin to establish great monopolies — reservoirs of huge wealth, upon which even the large fortunes of the Goys will depend to such an extent that they will be drowned, together with the governmental credits, on the day following the political catastrophe.

You economists, here present, will please carefully weigh the significance of this scheme! . . .

We must develop, by all means, the importance of our super-government by representing it as the protector and reward-giver of all those who willingly submit to us.

The aristocracy of the Goys as a political force is dead. We do not need to take it into consideration; but as land-owners they are harmful to us because they can be independent in their resources of life. For this reason we must deprive them of their land at any cost.

To attain this object, the best method is to increase land taxes—the indebtedness of the land. These measures will keep land ownership in subjection.

The aristocracy of the Goys, which as a matter of heredity is unable to be satisfied with small things, will soon be ruined.

At the same time it is necessary to patronize trade and industry vigorously, and more important, to encourage speculation, whose function is to act as a counterbalance to industry. Without speculation, industry will increase private capital and tend to the amelioration of land ownership by freeing it from indebtedness created by the loans granted by agricultural banks. It is necessary that industry should suck out of the land both labor and capital and through speculation deliver into our hands all the money of the world, thus throwing all the Goys into the ranks of the proletarians. Then the Goys will bow before us in order to obtain the mere right of existence.

To destroy Goy industry we will create among the Goys as an aid to speculation the strong demand for boundless luxury which we have already developed.

Let us raise wages, which, however, will be of no benefit to the workers, for we will simultaneously cause the rise in

THE PROTOCOLS

prices of objects of first necessity under the pretext that this is due to the decadence of agriculture, and of the cattle industry.

We will also artfully and deeply undermine the sources of production by teaching the workmen anarchy and the use of alcohol, at the same time taking measures to expel all the intelligent Goys from the land.

That the true situation should not be noticed by the Goys until the proper time, we will mask it by a pretended desire to help the working classes and great economic principles, an active propaganda of which principles is being carried on through the dissemination of our economic theories.

PROTOCOL No. VII

THE intensification of armament and the increase of the police force are essential to the realization of the above-mentioned plans. It is necessary that there should be besides ourselves in all countries only the mass of the proletariat, a few millionaires devoted to us, policemen, and soldiers.

We must create unrest, dissensions, and hatred throughout Europe and through European affiliations, also on other continents. In this there is a twofold advantage: First, we will hold all countries under our influence, since they will realize that we have the power to create disorders or to restore order whenever we wish. All countries have come to regard us as a necessary burden. Second, we will entangle by intrigues all the threads stretched by us into all the governmental bodies by means of politics, economic treaties, or financial obligations. To attain these ends we will worm our way into parleys and negotiations, armed with cunning, but in so-called "official language" we will assume the opposite tactics of seeming honest and reasonable. In this way the peoples and the governments of the Goys, taught by us to regard only the surface of that which we show them, will look upon us as benefactors and saviors of mankind.

We must be able to overcome all opposition by provoking a war by the neighbors of that country which dares to oppose us. Should, however, those neighbors, in their turn, decide to unite against us we must respond by a world war.

THE PROTOCOLS

Chief success in politics lies in the secrecy of its undertakings. There must be inconsistency between the words and actions of diplomats.

We must influence the Goy governments to action beneficial to our broadly conceived plan, now approaching its triumphant goal, creating the impression that such action is demanded by public opinion which in reality is secretly organized by us with the help of the so-called "great power," namely, the press; the latter, however, with few exceptions that need not be considered, is already entirely in our hands.

In short, to sum up our system of shackling the Goy governments of Europe, we will show our power to one of them by assassination and terrorism, and should there be a possibility of all of them rising against us, we will answer them with American, Chinese, or Japanese guns.

PROTOCOL No. VIII

WE must provide ourselves with the same arms our enemies can employ against us. We must seek the most subtle expressions and evasions of the legal dictionary to justify those cases in which we will be forced to announce decisions which may seem unnecessarily bold and unjust, for it is important that these decisions should be expressed in terms so forcible that they will appear as the highest moral rules of a legal character.

Our government must be surrounded by all the forces of civilization, in the midst of which it will have to function. It will surround itself with publicists, experienced lawyers, administrators, diplomats, and, finally, people educated along special lines in our special advanced schools.

These people will know all the secrets of social existence; they will know all languages composed of political letters and words; they will be familiar with the reverse side of human nature, with all its sensitive chords, upon which they must know how to play. These chords are the structure of the intellects of the Goys, their tendencies, their failings, their vices, and their virtues, the peculiarities of classes and castes. It is evident that the highly talented members of our government, to which I refer, will be recruited not from the ranks

THE PROTOCOLS

of the Goys, accustomed to performing their administrative duties without questioning their aim, and without thinking why they are necessary. The Goy administrators sign papers without reading them and work for profit or for pride.

We will surround our government by a whole world of economists. It is for this reason that economics is the chief science taught to the Jews. We will be surrounded by a crowd of bankers, traders, capitalists, *and most important of all, by millionaires, because in essence everything will be decided by a question of figures.*

Meanwhile, as it is not yet safe to give the responsible government posts to our brother Jews, we will give them to people whose record and whose character are such that there is an abyss between them and the people; also to people for whom, in case of disobedience to our orders, there will remain nothing but condemnation or exile—thus forcing them to protect our interests to their last breath.

PROTOCOL No. IX

IN applying our principles, turn your attention to the character of the people in whose countries you will be resident and among whom you will act, for a general similar application of them before the reëducation of a people according to our plan cannot be successful. But by advancing carefully in their application you will see that before ten years have passed the most obstinate character will have changed, and we can then count another people among those who already have submitted to us.

When we are enthroned we will substitute for the liberal words of our Masonic catchword, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," another group of words expressing simply ideas, namely, "the right of Liberty, the duty of Equality, the ideal of Fraternity." Thus we will speak and . . . we shall have the goat by the horns. . . . *De facto*, we have already destroyed all governments except our own, although *de jure* there are still many left. At present, if any of the governments raises a protest against us, it is done only as a matter of form, and at our desire, and by our order, because *their anti-Semitism is necessary to enable us to control our smaller*

THE PROTOCOLS

brothers. I will not further explain this, as it has already been the object of numerous discussions.

In reality there are no obstacles before us. Our super-government exists under such extra-legal conditions that it is common to designate it by an energetic and strong word—a Dictatorship.

I can honestly state that at the present time we are law-makers; we are the judges and inflict punishment; we execute and pardon; we, as the chief of all our armies, ride the leader's horse. We rule by indomitable will because we hold in our hands the fragments of a once strong party now subject to us. We possess boundless ambition, burning greed for merciless revenge, and bitter hatred.

From us emanates an all-embracing terror. People of all opinions and of all doctrines are in our service; people who desire to restore monarchies, demagogues, socialists, communists, and other utopians. We have had to put all of them to work; every one of them is undermining the last remnant of authority, is trying to overthrow all existing order. All the governments have been tortured by this procedure; they beg for peace, and for the sake of peace are prepared to make any sacrifice, but we will not give them peace until they recognize our international super-government openly and with submission.

The masses have begun to demand the solution of the social problem by means of an international agreement. *The division into parties has delivered all of them to us, because in order to conduct a party struggle money is required, and we have it all.*

We might fear the union of the intelligent power of the Goys' rulers with the blind power of the masses, but we have taken all measures against such a possibility. Between the two powers we have raised a wall in the form of mutual terror; thus the blind power of the people continues to be our support, and we alone will act as its leader and, naturally, we will direct it towards our goal.

To prevent the hand of the blind from freeing itself from our guidance, we must from time to time keep in close touch with the masses, if not through personal contact then through our most devoted brethren. When we become a recognized power we will personally address the masses in open places, and we will expound political problems in the desired direction.

THE PROTOCOLS

How verify what is taught in village schools? But whatever the representative of the government or the ruler himself states will be immediately known to the entire nation, for it will rapidly spread by the voice of the people.

In order not prematurely to destroy Gov institutions, we have touched them with our efficient hands and grasped the ends of the springs of their mechanism. Formerly these springs were in rigid but just order; we have changed it to liberal, disorderly, and arbitrary lawlessness.

We have affected legal procedure, electoral law, the press, personal freedom, and, most important, education, the cornerstone of free existence.

We have misled, corrupted, fooled, and demoralized the youth of the Goy by education along principles and theories known by us to be false but which we ourselves have inspired.

Without changing substantially the existing law we have created stupendous results by distorting the laws through contradictory interpretations. These results first manifested themselves by the fact that interpretation has concealed the law itself, and thereafter has completely hidden it from the eyes of the governments by the impossibility of understanding such complicated jurisprudence.

Hence the theory of the court of conscience.¹

You may say that there will be an armed rising against us if our plans are discovered prematurely; but in anticipation of this we have such a terrorizing manoeuvre in the West that even the bravest soul will shudder.

Underground passages will be established by that time in all capitals, from where they can be exploded, together with all their institutions and national documents.

PROTOCOL No. X

TO-DAY I will begin by reiterating what has already been stated. *I beg you to remember that the government and the masses are satisfied with visible results in politics.* How can they examine the inner meaning of things when their repre-

¹ This probably means the practice which arose of not adhering to the letter of the law but of judging by conscience. In European countries jurors are not compelled to render their verdict pursuant to the technical provisions of law.

THE PROTOCOLS

sentatives consider that pleasure is above everything? It is important to know one detail in our policy. It will help us in discussing division of authority, freedom of speech, of the press, of religion (faith), the right of assembly, equality before the law, inviolability of property and of the home, indirect taxes and the retrospective force of law. All such questions should never be directly and openly discussed before the masses. When it becomes necessary for us to discuss them, they should not be elaborated but merely mentioned, without going into details, pointing out that modern legal principles are being accepted by us. The significance of this reticence lies in the fact that a principle which has not been openly declared gives us freedom of action to exclude unnoticed one point or another, whereas if elaborated the principle becomes as good as established.

The people feel an especial love and admiration towards the political genius, and they always react to their acts of violence as follows:

“Yes, of course it is villainy, but how clever!—It is a trick but cleverly done! So majestically! so impudently! . . .”

We count upon attracting all nations to the construction of the foundations of the new edifice which has been planned by us. It is for this reason that it is necessary for us first of all to acquire that spirit of daring, enterprise, and force which, through our agents, will enable us to overcome all obstacles in our path.

When we accomplish our coup d'état, we will say to the peoples: “Everything went badly; all of you have suffered. We will abolish the cause of your sufferings, that is to say, nationalities, frontiers, and national currencies. Of course you are free to condemn us, but would your judgment be just if you were to pronounce it before giving a trial to what we will give you?” Thereafter they will exalt us with a sentiment of unanimous delight and hope. The voting system which we have used as a tool for our enthronement, and to which we have accustomed even the most humble members of humanity by organizing meetings and prearranged agreements, will have performed its last service and will make its last appearance in the expression of a unanimous desire to become more

THE PROTOCOLS

closely acquainted with us before having pronounced a judgment.

To attain this we must force all to vote, without class discrimination, to establish the autocracy of the majority, which cannot be obtained from the intellectual classes alone. Through this method of accustoming every one to the idea of self-determination, we will shatter the Goy family and its educational importance. We will not allow the formation of individual minds, because the mob, under our guidance, will prevent them from distinguishing themselves or even expressing themselves. The mob has become accustomed to listen only to us who pay it for obedience and attention. We will thus create such a blind power that it will be unable to move without the guidance of our agents, sent by us to replace their leaders.

The masses will submit to this régime because they will know that their earnings, perquisites, and other benefits depend upon these leaders.

The plan of government must emanate already formed from one head, as it would be impossible to put it together if disintegration by many minds into small pieces is allowed. That is why we only are allowed to know the plan of action; but we must not discuss it in order not to affect its ingenuity, the correlation between its component parts, the practical force of the secret meaning of its every clause. Were such a plan to be submitted to and altered by frequent voting, it would reflect the stamp of the misconceptions of every one who has not penetrated its depth and the correlation of its aims. For this reason our plans must be strongly and clearly conceived. Consequently, the inspired work of our leader must not be thrown to the mercy of the mob or even of a limited group.

These plans will not immediately upset contemporary institutions. They will only alter their organization, and consequently the entire combination of their development, which will thus be directed according to the plans laid down by us.

More or less the same institutions exist in different countries under different names, such as representative bodies, ministries, senate, state council, legislative and executive bodies. It is not necessary for me to explain to you the connecting mechanism of these different institutions, as it is well known to you. I only call to your attention that every one of

THE PROTOCOLS

the aforesaid institutions fulfills some important governmental function, and, moreover, I beg you to notice that the word "important" refers not to the institution but to the function. Consequently, it is not the institutions that are important but their functions. Such institutions have divided among themselves all the functions of government, namely, administrative, legislative, and executive powers; therefore, their functions in the state organism have become similar to those in a human body. If one part of the governmental machine is injured, the state itself falls ill, in the same way as the human body, and then it dies.

When we injected the poison of liberalism into the state organism, its entire political complexion changed; the states became infected with a mortal disease, namely, the decomposition of the blood. It is only necessary to await the end of their agony.

Constitutional governments were born of liberalism, which replaced the autocracy that was the salvation of the Goys, for the constitution, as you well know, is nothing more than a school for dispute, discussion, disagreement, fruitless party agitation, dissension, party tendencies—in other words, a school for everything which weakens the efficiency of government. The platform no less than the press condemned the authorities to inaction and impotency and thereby rendered them useless and superfluous, for which reason they were overthrown in many countries. The rise of the republican era then became possible, and then we substituted for the ruler a caricature of government—a president chosen from the mob, from among our creatures, our slaves. This was the kind of mine we laid under the Goys, or, more correctly, under the Goy nations.

In the near future we will make the president a responsible officer, whereupon we will no longer stand on ceremony in carrying out the things for which our dummy will be responsible. What difference does it make to us that the ranks of those aiming at authority will thin out, that confusion will result from inability to find presidents, confusion which will definitely disorganize the country?

To accomplish our plan, we will engineer the election of presidents whose past record contains some hidden scandal, some "Panama"—then they will be faithful executors of our orders from fear of exposure, and from the natural desire

THE PROTOCOLS

of every man who has reached authority to retain the privileges, advantages, and dignity connected with the position of president. The Chamber of Deputies will elect, protect, and screen presidents, but we will deprive it of the right of initiating laws or of amending them, for this right will be granted by us to the responsible president, a puppet in our hands. Of course then the power of the president will become the target of numerous attacks, but we will give him the means of self-protection by giving him the right of directly applying to the people, for their decision, over the heads of their representatives. In other words, he will turn to the same blind slave—to the majority of the mob. Moreover, we will empower the president to proclaim martial law. We will justify this prerogative under the pretext that the president, as chief of the national army, must control it in order to protect the new republican constitution, which he, as a responsible representative of this constitution, is bound to defend.

It is obvious that under such conditions the keys to the shrine will be in our hands, and nobody except ourselves will be able to guide the legislative power.

We will also take away from the Chamber, with the introduction of the new republican constitution, the right of interpellation in regard to governmental measures, under the pretext that political secrets must be preserved. With the aid of this new constitution we will reduce the number of representatives to the minimum, thus also reducing to the same extent political passions and passion for politics. If, in spite of this, those remaining are recalcitrant, we will abolish them completely by appealing to the majority of the people.

The appointment of the president and vice presidents of the Chamber and Senate will be the prerogative of the president. Instead of continuous parliamentary sessions, we will shorten them to a few months. Moreover, the president, as chief executive, will have the right to convene or dissolve parliament, and in the case of dissolution, defer the appointment of a new parliament. But to prevent the president from being held responsible before our plans are matured for the results of all these essentially illegal actions inaugurated by us, we will give the ministers and other high administrative officials surrounding the president the idea of circumventing his orders by issuing instructions of their own. Consequently, they will

THE PROTOCOLS

be made responsible instead of him. We recommend that the execution of this plan be given especially to the Senate, State Council, or Council of Ministers, and not to individuals. Under our guidance the president will interpret in ambiguous ways such existing laws as it is possible so to interpret. Moreover, he will annul them when the need is pointed out to him by us: he will also have the right to propose temporary laws and even modifications in the constitutional work of government, alleging as the motive for so doing the exigencies of the welfare of the country.

By such measures we will be able to destroy gradually, step by step, everything that, upon entering into our rights, we were obliged to introduce into government constitutions as a transition to the imperceptible abolition of all constitutions, when the time comes to convert all government into *our autocracy*.

The recognition of our autocrat may come even before the abolition of the constitution; the moment for this recognition will come when the people, tormented by dissension and the incompetency of their rulers, incited by us, will exclaim: Depose them, and give us one universal sovereign who will unite us and abolish the causes of dissension — national frontiers, religion, state indebtedness — and who will give us the peace and quiet which we cannot find with our rulers and representatives.

But you know well that to render such a universal expression of desire possible, it is necessary continuously to disturb the relationship between the people and the government in all countries, and so to exhaust everybody by the dissension, hostility, struggle, hatred, and even martyrdom, hunger, inoculation of diseases, and misery, as to make the Goys see no other solution than an appeal to our money and complete rule.

Should we give the people a rest, however, the longed for moment will probably never arrive.

PROTOCOL No. XI

THE Council of State will tend to accentuate the power of the ruler; in the capacity of an ostensible legislative body, it will act as a committee for the drawing up of laws and statutes on behalf of the ruler.

THE PROTOCOLS

The following is the program of the new constitution which we are preparing. We will make laws and control the courts in the following manner :

1. By suggestions to the legislative body.
2. By means of orders issued by the president as general statutes, decrees of the Senate, and decisions of the Council of State, as regulations passed by the ministries.
3. And when the opportune moment arrives—in the form of a *coup d'état*.

Having thus roughly outlined the *modus agendi*, we will now take up in detail those measures by which we will complete the development of the governmental mechanism in the above direction. By these measures, I mean the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, religious freedom, electoral rights, and many other things which must disappear from the human repertoire, or must be fundamentally altered on the day following the declaration of the new constitution. It is only at this moment that it will become possible for us to announce all our decrees, for at any time in the future every perceptible change would be dangerous, and this for the following reasons: If these changes should be introduced and rigidly enforced, it might cause despair by creating the fear of further changes in a similar direction; if, however, they are made with a tendency to subsequent leniency, then it might be said that we have recognized our mistakes, which would undermine the faith in the infallibility of the new authority; it might also be said that we were frightened, and that we were forced to make concessions for which nobody would be thankful since they would be considered as legitimately due.

Any of these impressions would be detrimental to the prestige of the new constitution. It is necessary for us that, from the first moment of its proclamation, when the people are still dumbfounded by the accomplished revolution and are in a state of terror and surprise, they should realize we are so strong, so invulnerable, and so mighty that we shall in no case pay attention to them, and not only will we ignore their opinions and desires, but be ready to and capable of suppressing at any moment or place any sign of opposition with indisputable authority. We shall want the people to realize that we have taken at once everything we wanted, and that we shall under no circumstances share our power with them. Then

THE PROTOCOLS

they will close their eyes to everything out of fear and will await further developments.

The Goys are like a flock of sheep — we are wolves.

Do you know what happens to sheep when wolves get into the fold?

They will also close their eyes to everything because we will promise to return to them all their liberties after the enemies of peace have been subjugated and all the parties pacified.

Is it necessary to say how long they would have to wait for the return of their liberties?

Why have we conceived and inspired this policy for the Goys without giving them an opportunity to examine its inner meaning if not for the purpose of attaining by a circuitous method what is unattainable for our scattered race by a direct road?

This constituted a base for our organization of *secret masonry which is not known to and whose aims are not even suspected by these cattle, the Goys. They have been decoyed by us into our numerous ostensible organizations, which appear to be Masonic lodges, so as to divert the attention of their coreligionists.*

God has given us, his chosen people, the power to scatter, and what to all appears to be our weakness, has proved to be our strength, and has now brought us to the threshold of universal rule.

Little remains to be built on these foundations.

PROTOCOL No. XII

THE word "Liberty" can be differently interpreted. We will define it as follows:

Liberty is the right to do that which is permitted by law. Such a definition of this word will eventually serve us, because liberty will be in our power; and also because the laws will either destroy or construct only what we desire in accordance with the above mentioned program.

We will deal with the press in the following manner: What is the present rôle of the press? It serves to arouse furious passions or egotistic party dissensions which may be necessary

THE PROTOCOLS

for our purpose. It is empty, unjust, inaccurate, and most people do not understand what end it serves. We will shackle it and keep a tight rein on it. We will also do the same with other printed matter, for what use would it be for us to rid ourselves of attacks on the part of the periodical press if we remain open to criticism through pamphlets and books? We will convert the products of publicity, now so expensive, owing to the need of censorship, into a source of income for our state. We will impose a special stamp tax. When a newspaper printing shop is started, bonds will have to be deposited, which will guarantee our government from all attacks on the part of the press. In case of an attack, we will mercilessly impose fines. Such measures as stamps, bonds, and fines, the payment of which is guaranteed by the bonds, will bring a huge income to the government. It is true that party papers might not fear the loss of money, so we will suppress these after the second attack on us. No one shall touch the prestige of our political infallibility and remain unpunished. The pretext for stopping a publication will be that the publication in question excites public opinion without cause or reason. *I ask you to bear in mind that among those who attack us there will be also organs established by us, but they will attack exclusively those points which we plan to change.*

Not one notice will be made public without our control. This is already being done by us, since the news from all parts of the world is received through several agencies in which it is centralized.

These agencies will then be completely in our power and they will publish only such news as we will permit.

If we have already managed to subjugate the minds of the Goys to such an extent that almost all of them see world events through colored glasses which we put over their eyes; if, even at present, there is not one state which bars our access to state secrets, so termed by the stupid Goys, then what will it be when we, in the person of our universal sovereign, are the recognized rulers of the world?

Let us return to the future of the press. Anybody who wishes to become an editor, a librarian, or a printer, will be obliged to obtain a diploma, which in case of disobedience will be immediately revoked.

With such measures, *thought will become an educational in-*

THE PROTOCOLS

strument in the hands of our government, which will not allow the people to be led astray into realms of fancy and dreams about beneficent progress. Who of us does not know that these fantastic blessings are the direct road to baseless hopes which lead to anarchistic relations between the people and the government? Progress, or better still the idea of progress, has led to the creation of different modes of emancipation without setting any limit to it. All so-called liberals are essentially anarchists in thought if not in action. Each one of them pursues the phantom of liberty, becoming self-willed, that is to say, falling into a state of anarchy by protesting for the mere sake of protesting.

We will now again refer to the question of the press. We will place stamp taxes secured by bonds on each page of all printed matter, while on books containing less than four hundred and eighty pages we will place a double tax. We will classify them as pamphlets, so as to lessen the number of magazines, which represent the worst printed poison—and on the other hand, to force writers to prepare such long works that they will be little read, especially as they will be expensive. Our own publications, guiding public opinion in the direction we desire, will be cheap and rapidly bought. The tax will discourage the writing of mere leisure literature, whereas punishment will make the writers dependent upon us. Even if there were writers who would like to attack us, they would find no publishers for their works. Before printing any work, the editor or printer will have to apply to the authorities for permission. We will then know beforehand of the attacks that are being prepared against us, and we will destroy them by coming out with advance statements on the subject.

Literature and journalism are the two most important educational forces; for this reason our government will become the owner of most of the periodicals. This will neutralize the injurious influence of the private press and have great influence on the people. If we permit ten periodicals, we ourselves will print thirty, and so forth. This, however, must not be suspected by the public. All the periodicals published by us will seem to be of contradictory views and opinions, inviting trust in us, thus attracting to us unsuspecting enemies, and in this way they will be caught in our trap and made harmless.

THE PROTOCOLS

The predominant place will be held by periodicals of an official character. They will always stand guard over our interests and consequently their influence will be comparatively limited.

In the second category we will place semi-official organs, whose aim will be to attract the indifferent and little interested.

The third category will be our ostensible opposition, which at least in one of its publications will represent the opposition to us. Our real enemies will mistake this seeming opposition as belonging to their own group and will thus show us their cards.

All our newspapers will represent different tendencies, namely, aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchistic, so long of course as the constitution lasts. Like the Indian God VISHNU, these periodicals will have one hundred arms, each of which will reach the pulse of every group of public opinion. When the pulse beats faster, these arms will guide opinion toward our aims, since the excited person loses the power of reasoning and is easily led. Those fools who believe that they repeat the opinions expressed by the newspapers of their party will be repeating our opinions or those which we desire them to have. Imagining that they are following the press of their party, they will follow the flag which we will fly for them.

In order that our newspaper militia may carry out our program, we must organize the press with great care. Under the title of the Central Department of the press, we will organize literary meetings at which our agents unnoticed will give the passwords and countersigns. Discussing and contradicting our policies, although always superficially, without touching their essence, our press will conduct an empty fire against official newspapers so as to give us only an opportunity to express ourselves in greater detail than we were able to in our preliminary declarations. This, of course, will be done when it is useful to us.

These attacks against us will also seem to convince the people that complete liberty of the press still exists, and it will give our agents the opportunity to declare that the papers opposing us are mere wind-bags, since they are unable to find any real ground to refute our orders.

Such measures, which will escape the notice of public atten-

THE PROTOCOLS

tion, will be the most successful means of guiding the public mind and of inspiring confidence in our government. Thanks to them, we will as the need arises excite or pacify the public mind on political questions. We will be able to persuade or confuse them, sometimes printing the truth, sometimes lies, referring to facts or contradicting them according to the way they are received by the public, always carefully sounding the ground before stepping on it. *We will surely conquer our enemies, because they will not have the press at their disposal in which to express themselves in full.* Moreover, with the above mentioned plans against the press, we will not even need to refute them seriously.

The trial balloons thrown out by us in the third category of our press, we will deny energetically, in case of need, in our semi-official organs.

In French journalism there already exists the Masonic solidarity of a password; all organs of the press are bound by professional secrecy; like the ancient augurs, not one member will disclose his secret if he is not ordered to do so. Not one journalist will dare to disclose this secret, for not one of them is admitted to literary headquarters unless he has a disgraceful action in his past record. The fact would immediately be made public. While these disgraceful actions are known only to a few, the prestige of the journalist attracts opinion throughout the country — he is admired.

Our plans must extend chiefly to the provincial districts. There we must excite hopes and ambitions opposed to those of the capitals, by means of which we may always attack them, presenting such ambitions to the capitals as the inspired views and aims of provincial districts. It is obvious that their source will be ours. It is necessary for us that while we are not yet in full power, the capital should be under the influence of provincial public opinion; that is under the influence of the majority prearranged by our agents. It is necessary for us that at the critical psychological moment the capitals should not discuss an accomplished fact, for the mere reason that it had been accepted by the provincial majority.

When we reach the phase of the new régime, which is transitory to our accession to power, we must not allow the press to expose social corruption. It must be thought that the new régime has satisfied everybody to such an extent that even

THE PROTOCOLS

criminality has stopped. Cases of criminal activity must only be known to their victims or their accidental witnesses, and to these alone.

PROTOCOL No. XIII

THE need of daily bread forces the Goys to silence and compels them to remain our obedient servants. The agents taken from among them for our press will discuss the facts they are ordered to publish, when it is inconvenient for us to publish statements openly in official documents. While discussion and dispute are taking place, we will simply pass the measures we desire and present them to the public as an accomplished fact. Nobody will dare to demand the rejection of measures thus passed, and the more so as they will be interpreted as an improvement. At this point the press will divert the thoughts of the people to new problems (we having accustomed the people always to seek new emotions). Those brainless creators of destiny, who heretofore have been unable to understand and do not now understand that they are ignorant of matters which they undertake to discuss, will also hasten to discuss these new problems. Political questions are meant to be understood only by those who have created them and have been directing them for many centuries.

From all this you will realize that by aiming to control the opinion of the mob we will only facilitate the functioning of our mechanism, and you will also notice that we seek approbation, not for actions but for words uttered by us on various occasions. We always declare that we are guided in all our policies by the hope and certainty of serving the general good.

To divert the over-restless people from discussing political problems, we now make it appear that we provide them with new problems, namely, those pertaining to industry. Let them become excited over this subject as much as they like. The masses will consent to remain inactive, to rest from so-called political activity (to which we ourselves accustomed them for the purpose of helping us in our struggle against the Goy government), only on condition of a new occupation in which we can show them supposedly the same political background.

To prevent them from reaching any independent decisions, *we will divert their minds by amusements, games, pastimes,*

THE PROTOCOLS

passions, and cultural centers for the people. We will soon begin to offer prize contests, through the press, in the field of art, and sports of all kinds. Such attractions will definitely deflect the mind from problems over which we would otherwise have to fight with the people. By losing more and more the custom of independent thought, they will begin to talk in unison with us, because we alone will provide new lines of thought through persons with whom of course we will presumably have no connection.

The rôle of liberal Utopians will be definitely terminated when our government is recognized. Until that time, they will do us good service. For this reason we will still direct thought towards different fantastic theories which will appear to be progressive. For it was by the word "progress" that we have successfully turned the brains of the stupid Goys. There are no brains among the Goys to realize that this word is but a cover for digression from the truth, unless it is applied to material inventions, *since there is but one truth and there is no room for progress.* Progress, being a false conception, serves to conceal the truth so that nobody may know it except ourselves, God's elect, who are its guardians.

When our kingdom is established, our orators will discuss the great problems which have stirred humanity for the purpose of bringing it finally under our blessed rule.

Who will then suspect that *all these problems were instigated by us, according to a political plan which has not been disclosed by any one during so many centuries.*

PROTOCOL No. XIV

WHEN we become rulers we will not tolerate the existence of any other religion except our own, which proclaims one God, with whom our fate is bound up because we are the Chosen People, and our fate has determined the fate of the world. For this reason we must destroy all other religions. If the result of this produces modern atheists, as a transitory step, this will not interfere with our plans but will act as an example to those generations which will listen to our teaching of the religion of Moses, which, owing to its solid and thoughtful system, will eventually lead to the domination of

THE PROTOCOLS

all nations by us. We will also lay stress on the mystical truth of Masonic teaching which, we will assert, is the foundation of its whole educative power.

On every possible occasion we will then publish articles in which we will compare our beneficial rule with that of the past. The benefits of peace, although attained through centuries of unrest, will serve to demonstrate the beneficial character of our rule. The mistakes made by the Goys during their administration will be pictured by us in the most vivid colors. We will cause such disgust towards the administration of the Goys that the masses will prefer the peace of serfdom to the rights of the much lauded liberty which has so cruelly tortured them and drained from them the very source of human existence, and by which they were exploited by a mass of adventurers, ignorant of what they were doing. *The useless changes of government, to which we ourselves prompted the Goys, when we were undermining their governmental apparatus, will become such a nuisance to the people by that time, that they will prefer to endure anything from us rather than risk a repetition of former unrest and hardships.* We will, moreover, lay particular stress on the historical mistakes made by the Goy governments, which caused humanity to suffer for many centuries for lack of understanding of all matters pertaining to its true welfare, and because of their search for fantastic schemes of social welfare. The Goys did not notice that such schemes instead of improving mutual relationship, which is the basis of human existence, have only made it worse.

The whole force of our principles and measures will lie in the fact that they are put forward and interpreted by us as being in sharp contrast to the decayed social order of former times.

Our philosophers will discuss all the shortcomings of the Goy religion, but nobody will ever discuss our religion in the light of its true aspect, and nobody will ever thoroughly understand it, except our own people, who will never dare to disclose its secrets.

In countries so-called advanced we have created insane, dirty, and disgusting literature. For a short time after our entrance into power we will encourage its publication in order that the contrast between it and the speeches and programs which will be heard from our heights should be more pointedly

THE PROTOCOLS

marked. Our wise men, trained as guides to the Govs, will prepare speeches, plans, memoranda, and articles, by which we will influence the minds and direct them towards the conceptions and the knowledge which we wish them to have.

PROTOCOL No. XV

WHEN we finally become rulers by means of revolutions, which will be arranged so that they shall take place simultaneously in all countries and immediately after all existing governments shall have been officially pronounced as incapable (which may not happen soon, perhaps not before a whole century), we will see to it that no plots are hatched against us. To effect this, we will kill heartlessly all who take up arms against the establishment of our rule.

The establishment of any new secret society will be met by the death penalty, and those societies which now exist and are known to us and either work or have worked for us, will be disbanded and their members exiled to continents far removed from Europe.

We will deal in the same manner with those Masons among the Govs who know too much. The Masons whom we may pardon for any reason will be kept under continual fear of exile. We will pass a law whereby all members of secret organizations will be exiled from Europe, that being the center of our government. The decisions of our government will be final and there will be no right of appeal.

In the Gov society, where we have planted such deep roots of dissension and protest, order can only be restored by merciless measures which will serve as evidence that our power cannot be infringed. There is no necessity for regard towards the victims sacrificed for the future good. To attain good, even though by the sacrifice of life, is the duty of every government which realizes that its existence depends not upon privileges alone, but upon the exercise of its duties as well.

The most important means for erecting a stable government is to strengthen the prestige of authority. This is only obtained by its majestic and unshakable power, which will convey the impression that it is inviolable because of its mystical nature, namely, because chosen by God. *Such until recently*

THE PROTOCOLS

has been the Russian Autocracy—our only dangerous enemy throughout the world, with the exception of the Pope. Remember Italy drowning in blood; she did not touch a hair on the head of Sulla who had shed that blood. Sulla had become powerful in the eyes of the people, although they were tortured by him; his manly return to Italy placed him beyond persecution. The people do not touch those who hypnotize them by bravery and steadfastness of spirit.

Meanwhile, until our rule is established, we, on the contrary, will organize and multiply free masonic lodges in all the countries of the world. We will attract to them all those who are and who may become public-spirited, because in these lodges will be the chief source of information and from them will emanate our influence.

All these lodges will be centralized under one management, known only to us and unknown to all others; these lodges will be administered by our wise men. The lodges will have their own representative in this management in order to screen the above mentioned Masonic government; he will give the password and elaborate the program. We will tie the knot of all revolutionary liberal elements in these lodges. Their membership will consist of all strata of society. The most secret political plans will be known to us and will fall under our leadership on the very day of their origination. *Among the members of these lodges will be almost all the agents of the international and national police,* whose work is indispensable for us, inasmuch as the police not only are able to take independent measures against the rebellious, but may also serve to mask our actions, provoke discontent, and so forth.

Most people who become members of secret societies are adventurers, career makers, and irresponsible persons in general, with whom we will have no difficulty in dealing and who will help us to set in motion the mechanism of the machine planned by us. If this world becomes perturbed, it will only prove that it was necessary for us to disorganize it so as to destroy its too great solidarity. *If a plot is laid, it must be headed by one of our most trustworthy servants.* It is only natural that we want nobody but ourselves to guide the work of the Masons,¹ for we know where we are trending, we know

¹ It is important to point out that *some of the Jews themselves* in their writings have claimed that Masonry is largely controlled by

THE PROTOCOLS

the final aim of every action. The Goys, however, understand nothing, not even the immediate results. They are usually concerned about the momentary satisfaction of their ambitions in achieving their intentions. They do not notice, however, that the intention itself was not initiated by them, but that it was we who gave them the idea.

The Goys become members of the lodges out of pure curiosity, or hoping to receive their share in the public funds. There are others who come for the purpose of seizing the opportunity of putting before the public their impossible and baseless hopes. They long for the emotion of success and for the applause which we grant them lavishly. We create their success in order to utilize the self-deception that is born with it and by which people, without noticing, begin to follow our suggestions without suspecting them, and being fully convinced that their infallibility originates its own ideas and, therefore, does not need those of others. You have no idea how easy it is to bring even the most intelligent Goys to a state of unconscious credulity, and, on the other hand, how easy it is to discourage them by the smallest failure, or merely by ceasing to applaud them, thus bringing them into servitude for the sake of achieving new success. *To the same extent as our people ignore success for the sake of carrying out their plans, so are the Goys ready to sacrifice all their plans for the sake of success.* Their psychology makes the problem of direction easier for us. Those tigers in appearance have the souls of sheep and nonsense filters through their heads. As a hobby we have given them the dream of submerging human individualism through the symbolic idea of *collectivism*.

They have not yet discovered and will not discover that this hobby is a clear infringement on the principal law of nature, which, from the beginning of the world, created a being unlike all others, precisely for the sake of expressing his individuality.

If we were able to lead them to such insane and blind

Jewish influence. In this connection the statement of Dr. Isaac M. Wise may be recalled:

"Masonry is a Jewish institution whose history, decrees, charges, passwords and explanations are Jewish, from the beginning to the end, with the exception of only one by-decree and a few words in the obligation." (Dr. Isaac M. Wise, *The Israelite*, August 3rd and 17th, 1855; quoted by Samuel Oppenheim in his pamphlet "Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," American Jewish Historical Society, New York, 1910, No. 19, pp. 1, 2.)

THE PROTOCOLS

beliefs, does it not obviously prove the low level of development of the Goy mind as compared to our mind? It is precisely the thing which guarantees our success.

How far sighted were our wise men of old when they said that to attain a serious object one must not stop at the means, nor should one count the victims sacrificed to the cause. We have not counted the victims from among the Goys, those seeds of cattle. Although we have sacrificed many of our own peoples, we have already given them in return a formerly undreamed-of position on earth. The comparatively few victims from among our own people have saved our race from destruction.

Death is the unavoidable end of all. It would be better to accelerate this end for those who interfere with our cause than for our people or for us, ourselves, the creators of this cause to die. *We kill Masons in such a way that none but the brothers suspect, not even the victims; they all die when it is necessary, apparently from a natural death.* Knowing this, even the brethren, in their turn, dare not protest. It is through such measures that we have uprooted the heart of protest against our orders from among the Masons. Preaching liberalism to the Goys, at the same time we hold our people and our agents under iron discipline.

Through our influence the enforcement of the Goy laws has been reduced to a minimum. The prestige of the law has been undermined by the liberal interpretations introduced by us. The courts decide as we dictate the most important principles, both political and moral, viewing the cases in the light presented by us for the Goy administration. This we accomplished naturally through agents, with whom we have ostensibly no connection, namely, through the press or otherwise. Even senators and high officials blindly follow our advice. The purely animal mind of the Goys is incapable of analysis and observation, and even less so of foreseeing to what results the development of the principle involved in a case may lead.

It is through this difference in the process of reasoning between us and the Goys that it becomes possible clearly to demonstrate the stamp of God's elect as compared to the instinctive and bestial mentality of the Goys. They see, but they cannot foresee, and they cannot invent anything except material

THE PROTOCOLS

things. It is clear, therefore, that nature herself intended us to rule and guide the world.

When the time comes for our open rule, then will be the time to show its benefits, and we will change all the laws. Our laws will be short, clear, irrevocable, and requiring no interpretation, so that everybody will be able to know them thoroughly. The chief point emphasized in them will be a highly developed obedience to authority, which will eliminate all abuses, for all without exception will be responsible before the supreme power vested in the highest authority.

Abuse of power by minor officials will then disappear, because it will be punished so mercilessly that they will lose the desire to experiment with their power. We will closely watch every action of the administration, upon which depends the action of the government machinery, for corruption there creates corruption everywhere; not a single violation of law or act of corruption will remain unpunished. Acts of concealment and willful neglect on the part of governmental officials will disappear after they have seen the first example of severe punishment. The prestige of power necessitates that appropriate, that is to say severe, punishments should be inflicted even for the smallest violations of the sanctity of the supreme authority, committed for the sake of personal gain. The guilty, if punished severely, will be like a soldier who falls on the battlefield of administration for the sake of Authority, Principle, and Law; these principles do not allow any digression from their social function for a personal motive, even on the part of those who rule. For instance: *Our judges will know that by attempting to show stupid mercy, they overstep the law of justice, which was created solely for exemplary punishment of crimes and not for the manifestation of moral qualities on the part of the judge.* Such qualities are commendable in private, but not in public life, which constitutes the educational forum of human life.

The personnel of our judges will not remain in office after the age of fifty-five. First, because old people adhere more persistently to prejudiced opinions and are less capable of submitting to new commands; and secondly, because that enables us to achieve a certain flexibility of change in the personnel, which will bend more easily under our pressure. He who wishes to retain his position will have to obey blindly.

THE PROTOCOLS

In general, our judges will be selected only from among those who will clearly understand that they must punish people and enforce the laws, and not indulge in dreams of liberalism at the expense of the educational plan of the government, as is now imagined by the Goys. The method of changing the personnel will also serve to undermine the collective solidarity of the governmental officials and will attach them to the cause of the government, which decides their fate. The younger generation of judges will be so educated as to prevent any criminal activity which might interfere with the inter-relationship which we have established for our subjects.

At present the Goy judges, lacking a clear conception of the nature of their duties, make exceptions to all kinds of crimes. This occurs because the present rulers, when appointing judges, do not take the trouble to encourage the sense of duty and conscientiousness in the work to be performed by them. As the animal sends out its young in search of prey, so the Goys are giving their subjects responsible offices without taking the time to explain their functions. Owing to this, their rule is undermined by their own efforts and through the actions of their own administration. Let us use the result of such actions as one more example of the advantage of our own rule.

We will eliminate liberalism from all the important strategic positions in our administration upon which depend the training of our subjects for our social order. These positions will be given only to those who have been trained by us for governmental work.

In answer to a possible remark, that the putting of old officials on the retired list may prove expensive for the treasury, I can state first, that, prior to their dismissal, some private work will be found for them to replace what they are losing, and secondly, I may also remark, that all the world's money will be concentrated in our hands; consequently, our government need not fear expense.

Our autocracy will be consistent in every respect, and consequently every manifestation of our great power will be respected and unconditionally obeyed. We will ignore grumbling and discontent, and all active manifestations of either will be suppressed by punishment, which will serve as an example to the rest of the people.

We will abolish the right of appellate courts to annul judi-

THE PROTOCOLS

cial decisions, which will become the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign, for we cannot permit the people to think that an incorrect decision may possibly be rendered by the judges appointed by us. Should, however, such an error happen, we ourselves will annul the decision; but the punishment which we will impose upon the judge for misconception of his duties and of his responsibility will be so severe that it will eliminate the very possibility of a recurrence. I repeat that we will watch every step taken by our administration in order to enable us to satisfy the people, for they have a right to demand a good appointee from a good administration.

In the person of our sovereign, our government will bear the appearance of a patriarchal or fatherly tutelage. The people, our subjects, will see in him a father who takes care of every need, every action, and who is concerned with every relationship, both among the subjects themselves and between them and the sovereign.

Thus, they will become imbued with the idea that it is impossible for them to do without this guardian and guide if they wish to live in a world of peace and quiet. *They will recognize the autocracy of our sovereign, whom they will respect and almost deify*, especially when they realize that our agents do not usurp his power, but merely execute his orders blindly. They will be glad that everything is regulated in their lives, as is done by wise parents who wish to educate their children to a sense of duty and obedience. With regard to the secrets of our political plans, both the masses and their administration are like little children.

As you can see for yourselves, I base our despotism upon right and duty; the right of forcing the performance of duty is the direct function of government, acting as the father to its subjects. It is the right of the strong to utilize his power in order to lead humanity towards a social order established by the law of nature, namely, obedience. Everything in the world is subject, if not to some other persons, then to circumstances, or to its own nature; but in any case, to something stronger than itself. Consequently, let us be the strongest for the common good.

We must sacrifice without hesitation those individuals who violate the existing order, for in exemplary punishment of evil there lies a great educational problem.

THE PROTOCOLS

When the King of Israel places the crown offered to him by Europe on his sacred head, he will become the Patriarch of the World. The necessary sacrifices made by him will never equal the number of victims sacrificed to the mania of greatness during the centuries of rivalry between the Goy governments.

Our sovereign will be in constant communication with the people, delivering from tribunes addresses which will be spread to all parts of the world.

PROTOCOL No. XVI

FOR the purpose of destroying all collective forces except our own, we will nullify the universities, the first stage of collectivism, by reconstructing them along new lines. *Their directors and professors will be trained for their work through detailed secret programs of action, from which they will not be able to deviate in the least with impunity. They will be appointed with special care and will be so placed as to be completely dependent upon the government.*

We will exclude from the curriculum civic law, as well as all that touches upon political questions. These subjects will be taught only to a few dozen selected for their striking ability from among the initiated. *The universities must not allow the callow youths to graduate who concoct plans of constitutions as they do comedies or tragedies, or who meddle with political matters which even their fathers do not understand.*

Poorly directed study of political questions by a great number of people creates Utopians and poor citizens, as you can judge by the universal education as conducted by the Goys along those lines. It was necessary for us to infiltrate into their educational system such principles as have successfully broken down their social order. When we are in power, we will eliminate all disturbing subjects from educational systems and will make young people obedient children of their superiors, loving the sovereign as their assurance of hope, peace, and quiet.

For the study of the classics and ancient history, which contain more bad than good examples, we will substitute a program dealing with the future. We will obliterate from

THE PROTOCOLS

the memory of the people all those facts pertaining to former centuries which are not to our advantage, leaving only those which emphasize the mistakes of the Gov governments. The study of practical life, of obligatory social order, of the inter-relationship of human beings, the avoidance of evil, egotistical examples that plant the seed of evil, and other questions of a pedagogical nature, will head the educational program. This program will differ for each caste, never allowing education to be of a uniform character. Such a system is of special importance.

Each caste must be educated with strict limitations, according to its particular occupation and the nature of the work. Accidental genius has always been able and always will be able to rise to a higher caste; but, for the sake of this rare exception, to open the door to the inefficient, and to admit them to higher castes or ranks, enabling them to occupy positions of others born and trained to fill them — is absolute insanity. You, yourself, know what happened to the GOYS when they yielded to this nonsense.

In order to implant the sovereign firmly in the minds and hearts of his subjects, it is necessary to acquaint the people, during his term of office, both in schools and in public places, with the importance of his activity and the benevolence of his enterprises.

We will abolish all unlicensed teaching. Students will have the right to gather, with their relatives, in their colleges as if in clubs. During these gatherings, on holidays, the teachers will read supposedly unbiased lectures on problems of human relationship, on the law of imitation, on the cruelty of unrestricted competition, and finally, on new philosophical theories which have not yet been disclosed to the world.

We will promote these theories into dogmatic beliefs, using them as stepping-stones to our faith. After having presented our program of action for the present and for the future, I will read to you the principles of these theories.

In short, knowing from the experience of many centuries that men live and are guided by ideas, that these ideas are imbued only by means of education given to persons of all ages, of course by different methods but meeting with equal success, we will absorb and appropriate to our own advantage the last traces of independent thought, which for a long time

THE PROTOCOLS

have been directed to the goal and to the ideas necessary to us. The system of enslaving thought is already in action through so-called visual education.

This system tends to turn the Goys into thoughtless, obedient animals, expecting to see in order to understand. In France one of our best agents, Bourgeois, has already announced a new program of visual education.

PROTOCOL No. XVII

THE lawyer's profession makes people grow cold, cruel, stubborn and unprincipled, and compels them to take an abstract or purely legal viewpoint in all matters. They have learned to consider solely the personal gain derived from every case they handle and not the possibility of the social benefit of its results. They rarely refuse to take a case and always strive for acquittal at all cost, clinging to minor technical points of a legal nature. In this way they demoralize the courts. Therefore we will limit this profession, converting it into an executive public office. Lawyers will be deprived of the right of contact with their clients on the same basis as are the judges. They will receive their cases only from the court, preparing them on the strength of written reports and documents and defending their clients after they have been examined in court on the basis of the facts obtained during the trial. They will receive a salary, regardless of whether the defense has been successful or not. They will act as simple exponents of the case on behalf of the defense in counterbalance to the public prosecutor, who will act as exponent on behalf of the prosecution. This will shorten legal procedure and establish an honest and impartial defense, conducted not for the sake of personal gain, but based on the personal conviction of the lawyer. This will also eliminate the existing bribery among fellow lawyers and prevent their allowing the side to win which pays.

We have already taken care to discredit the clergy of the Goys and thus to undermine their function, which at the present time could have been very much in our way. Their influence over the people diminishes daily.

To-day freedom of religion has been proclaimed every-

THE PROTOCOLS

where; consequently, it is only a *question of a few years before the complete collapse of Christendom*. It will be still easier to deal with other religions, but it is too early to discuss this problem. We will confine clericalism and clericals within such a narrow field that their influence will have an effect opposite to what it used to have.

When the moment comes to annihilate the Vatican completely, an invisible hand, pointing towards this court, will guide the masses in their assault. When, however, the masses attack, we will come forward as defenders to prevent too much bloodshed. By this method we will penetrate its very heart and will not leave it until we have undermined its power.

The King of Israel will become the real Pope of the Universe, the Patriarch of the International Church.

But until we have accomplished the re-education of the youth to new transitional religions and finally to our own, *we will not openly attack the existing churches, but will fight them by means of criticism, thus creating dissension*.

In general, our press will denounce governmental activities and religion, and will expose the inefficiency of the Goys in the most unscrupulous terms, so as to humiliate them to such an extent as only our ingenious race is capable of doing. Our rule will simulate the God Vishnu, who resembles us physically; each of our hundred hands will hold one of the springs of the social machine. We will see everything without the aid of the official police; in its present organization, however, which we have worked out for the Goys, the police prevent the government from seeing anything. According to our program, one-third of our subjects will watch the others from a pure sense of duty, as volunteers for the government. Then it will not be considered disgraceful to be a spy and an informer; on the contrary, it will be regarded as praiseworthy. Unfounded reports, however, will be severely punished to prevent abuse of this privilege.

Our agents will be recruited both from among the highest and the lowest ranks of society; they will be selected from among the pleasure-loving governmental officials, editors, printers, booksellers, salesmen, workmen, drivers, butlers, etc. This police force will have no official rights or credentials, which give opportunity for the abuse of power, and conse-

THE PROTOCOLS

quently it will be powerless; it will merely act as observer and will make reports. The verification of such reports and the issue of warrants for arrests will rest with a responsible group of police controllers. The actual arrests, however, will be made by a gendarme corps or the municipal police. In case of failure to report any political matter which has been observed or rumored, the person who should have reported it may be brought to trial for concealment of crime, if it is proven that he is guilty.

In the same way that our brethren are now under obligation to report on their own initiative on all apostates, or on any person marked as being opposed to the Kehillah, so in our Universal Kingdom it will be obligatory for all subjects to serve the state in that direction.

Such an organization will eliminate all abuse of power and various kinds of coercion and corruption, in fact, the very things which have been introduced into the customs of the Goy by our councils and by the theories of the rights of supermen. But how otherwise could we foment the increasing causes for disorder in the midst of their administration? What other means could we use? Among these means, one of the most important is the employment of such agents for the preservation of order as are in a position to manifest their own evil inclinations in the course of their destructive work, namely, their self-will, abuse of authority, and, most important of all, bribery.

PROTOCOL No. XVIII

WHEN the time comes for us to strengthen the measures of police protection (the most terrible poison for the prestige of authority), we will artificially organize disorder or simulate the expression of discontent with the aid of experienced orators. These orators will be joined by sympathizers. This will give us the pretext for searches and special restrictions which will be put in force by our servants among the Goy police.

As most conspirators work as amateurs for the sake of chattering, we will not disturb them until we see that they are about to take action; but we will introduce in their midst

THE PROTOCOLS

secret service agents. It must be remembered that the prestige of authority diminishes if conspiracies against it are often discovered, for that leads to the presumption of the weakness of the authority, or, what is worse, to the admission of its own mistakes. You are aware that we have destroyed the prestige of the ruling Goys by frequent attempts made on their lives through our agents, who were but blind sheep of our flock, easily moved, by a few liberal phrases, to crimes, so long as they were of a political nature. *We have forced the rulers to admit their own weakness by adopting open measures of police protection, and thereby we have ruined the prestige of their authority.*

Our sovereign will be protected only by the most invisible guard, because we will never allow any one to think that conspiracy might exist against him which he is unable to combat and from which he has to hide himself. If we were to allow this thought to prevail, as it prevails among the Goys, we would thereby sign the death warrant, if not of the sovereign himself, then of his dynasty in the near future.

Observing strict decorum, our sovereign will use his power only for the benefit of the people, but never for his own good or for that of his dynasty. By strictly adhering to this decorum, his authority will be respected and protected by his subjects; moreover, he will be worshiped, because it will be known that upon his authority depends the well-being of every citizen of the kingdom, and the stability of the social order itself.

To guard the sovereign openly is equivalent to an admission of the weakness of his governmental organization.

Our sovereign, when amidst his people, will always appear to be surrounded by a crowd of curious men and women, who will stand beside him as though accidentally and will hold back the other people as though through respect for order. This example will implant an idea of self-restraint in others. If there be a person in the crowd trying to present a petition, and working his way through the ranks, the person nearest to him must take the petition and present it to the sovereign in sight of the petitioner himself, so that all may know that the petition presented has reached its destination and consequently that there exists a control of affairs on the part of the sovereign himself. The prestige of authority demands that the people

THE PROTOCOLS

should be able to say, "If only the king could know it," or, "The king will know about this."

With the establishment of an official police guard the mystical prestige of authority vanishes at once; with a certain amount of audacity, every one considers himself superior to authority; the assassin realizes his strength and only has to watch his opportunity to make an attempt against an official. We preached differently for the Goys, but we can see the results to which open methods of protection have led them.

We will arrest criminals upon the first more or less well-founded suspicion. Because of the fear of a possible mistake political criminals should not be given the opportunity to escape; indeed towards political crime we will show no mercy. If, in exceptional cases, it may seem possible to allow the investigation of motives which have led to ordinary criminal offences, there is no excuse for those who attempt to deal with matters which no one can understand except the government. Moreover, not even all governments are capable of understanding the right policy.

PROTOCOL No. XIX

THOUGH we will not allow individuals to become involved in politics, we will, on the other hand, encourage the submission for the approval of the government of all petitions and reports containing suggestions and plans for bettering the condition of the people. This will bring to our knowledge the shortcomings or merely the fantastic aspirations of our subjects. These suggestions we will answer either by favorable action or by refusals proving the lack of intelligence and the errors of those who have submitted such suggestions.

Sedition is nothing but the barking of a lap dog at an elephant. From the point of view of a government which is well organized, not from the police standpoint but with regard to its social basis, the lap dog barks at the elephant because he does not realize his strength. It is only necessary for the elephant to show his strength once and the dog barks no more; he begins to wag his tail the moment he sees the elephant.

In order to eliminate the prestige of martyrdom from political crime, we will seat the political criminal on the same bench

THE PROTOCOLS

with thieves, murderers, and other disgusting and dirty criminals. Then public opinion will regard that class of criminals as quite as disgraceful as any other, and will brand them with equal contempt.

We have endeavored to prevent, and I hope have succeeded in preventing, the Goys from using such methods of dealing with seditious activities. In order to attain this end, we have made use of the press and public speeches; indirectly, through cleverly compiled historical textbooks, we have given publicity to martyrdom as though revolutionists had undergone it for the sake of human welfare. Such an advertisement has increased the contingent of liberals and forced thousands of Goys into the herds of our cattle.

PROTOCOL No. XX

TO-DAY we shall deal with the financial program, the discussion of which I have postponed until the end of my report because it is the most difficult, conclusive, and decisive point in our plans. In approaching it, I will remind you that I have already intimated that the result of our actions is measured in figures.

When we become rulers, our autocratic government, for the sake of self-defense, will avoid burdening the people with heavy taxes, and it will not forget the rôle it has to play, namely, that of Father and Protector. But as government organization is costly, it is necessary to raise the means for its maintenance. Consequently, we must carefully work out the plan of a fair distribution of taxation.

In our government the sovereign will have the legal fiction of owning everything in his kingdom (which is easily put into practice), and can resort to legal confiscation of all money in order to regulate its circulation throughout the country. Consequently, the best method of taxation is the levying of a progressive tax on property. Taxes will thus be paid without difficulty or ruin in respective proportion to the amount of property owned. The rich must realize that it is their duty to give a part of their surplus wealth for the benefit of the country as a whole, because the government guarantees inviolability of the remaining part of their property and the right of

THE PROTOCOLS

honest gain. I say *honest* because the control of property will prevent legal theft.

This social reform must come from above, for the time is ripe and it is becoming necessary as a guarantee of peace.

The tax on the poor is the seed of revolution, and it acts detrimentally to the government, which loses the great in its pursuit of the little. Moreover, the taxation of capital will lessen the increase of wealth in private hands, in which at present we have concentrated it as a counterweight to the governmental power of the Goys, namely, to the state treasury.

Progressive taxation, assessed according to the amount of capital, will produce a much greater revenue than the present system of taxing every one at an equal rate, which is useful to us now only as a means of exciting revolt and discontent among the Goys. The power of our sovereign will rest mainly in equilibrium and in guarantees of peace. For these, the capitalists must cede a part of their income so as to protect the action of the government machine. Public needs must be met by those who can best afford to do so and by those from whom there is something to take.

Such a measure will eliminate the hatred of the poor towards the rich, as they will be regarded as the financial supporters of the state and the upholders of peace and prosperity. The poor will also see that the rich are providing the necessary means to insure this end.

To prevent intelligent taxpayers from being too discontented with the new system of taxation, they will be furnished with detailed reports of the disbursement of public funds, exclusive of such as are appropriated for the needs of the throne and administrative institutions.

The sovereign will not own property, since everything in the state will seem to belong to him and these two conceptions would contradict each other. Private means would eliminate his right to own everything.

The relatives of the sovereign, aside from his descendants who will also be supported by the state, must join the ranks of government officials, or otherwise work for the right of holding property. The privilege of being of royal blood must not entitle them to rob the state treasury.

Sales, profits, or inheritances will be taxed by a progressive

THE PROTOCOLS

stamp tax. The transfer of property, whether in cash or otherwise, without the required stamp, will place the payment of the tax on the original owner, dating from the time of the transfer until the time of the reported failure to record the transaction. Transfer vouchers must be shown weekly at the local branch of the state treasury, together with a statement of the names, surnames, and the permanent addresses both of the original and of the new owner. The recording of the names of those participating in a transaction will be necessary in all transactions involving more than a certain amount for ordinary expenditure. The sale of prime necessities will be taxed only by a stamp tax, which will represent a certain small per cent of the cost of the particular article.

Just calculate how many times the amount received from such taxes will exceed the income of the Goy governments.

The state bank must keep a definite reserve fund, and all sums in excess must be put back into circulation. The cost of public works will be met out of this surplus fund. The initiative of such works emanating from the government will also tie the working class to the interests of the government and the rulers. Some of this money will be allotted to prizes for inventions and for the purposes of production.

Even small sums in excess of a certain definite and broadly calculated fund, should not be allowed to be kept in the state treasury, because money is intended to circulate, and every impediment to circulation is detrimental to the governmental mechanism, which the money lubricates; the congestion of lubricating substances can stop the proper functioning of the mechanism.

The substitution of bonds for a part of the currency has created just such an impediment. The result of this has already become sufficiently evident.

We will also establish an auditing office, so as to enable the sovereign to find at all times a full account of state revenues and expenses, except for the current month not yet made up, and that of the previous month not yet presented.

The only person who will not be interested in robbing the state treasury will be the sovereign, its owner. This is the reason why his control will prevent the possibility of loss or misappropriation.

Receptions for the purpose of etiquette, which waste the

THE PROTOCOLS

valuable time of the sovereign, will be abolished, because the ruler needs time for control and thought. Then his power will not be frittered away on the people surrounding the throne for the sake of appearance and brilliance, and who have only their own and not the public interest in mind.

The economic crises were created by us for the Goys only by the withdrawal of money from circulation. Huge amounts of capital were kept idle and were taken away from the nations, which were thus compelled to apply to us for loans. Payment of interest on these loans burdened the state finances and made the states subservient to capital. The concentration of industry having taken production out of the hands of the artisan and put it into the hands of capitalists, sucked all the power out of the people and also out of the state.

The present issue of money generally does not coincide with the need per capita, and consequently it cannot satisfy all the needs of the working classes. The issue of currency, must correspond with the increase in population, and children must be reckoned as consumers from the day of their birth. The revision of the issue of currency is an essential problem for the whole world.

You know that gold currency was detrimental to the governments that accepted it, for it could not satisfy the requirements for money, since we took as much gold as possible out of circulation.

We must issue a currency based on the value of the working power, whether it be of paper or wood. We will issue money in proportion to the normal demands of every subject, adding a certain amount at every birth and decreasing it with every death.

Every department (the French administrative divisions),¹ every district, will be in charge of its own accounts.

To avoid any delay in paying government expenses, the terms of such payments will be decreed by order of the sovereign; this will eliminate any favoritism of the ministry (of finance)² over any other department to the detriment of the others.

The budget of revenues and the budget of expenditure will be placed side by side, in order that they may always be compared with each other.

¹ The words in parentheses would seem to be a comment of Nilus's.

² The words in parentheses are inserted by the editors.

THE PROTOCOLS

We will present plans for the reform of the Goy financial institutions and of their principles, as planned by us, in such a manner that nobody will be frightened. We will demonstrate the need of reform by the disorderly twaddle produced by the financial disorganization of the Goys. We will show that the first reason for this confusion lies in the drafting of rough estimates for the budget, which increases from year to year. This annual budget is with great difficulty made to last during the first half of the year; then a revised budget is demanded and the funds thus allotted are spent in the next three months, after which a supplementary budget is called for and all this is wound up by a liquidation budget. As the budget of the following year is based on the total expenditure of the preceding year, the divergence from the normal reaches fifty per cent annually, so that the annual budget trebles every ten years. Owing to such a procedure, resulting from the carelessness of the Goy governments, their treasuries became empty. The period of loans followed and used up the remainder and brought all the Goy states to bankruptcy.

You can well understand that such a management of financial affairs as we induced the Goys to pursue cannot be adopted by us.

Every loan proves the impotency of the government and its failure to understand its own rights. Loans, like the sword of Damocles, hang above the heads of the rulers, who instead of placing temporary taxes on their subjects, stretch forth their hands and beg the charity of our bankers. Foreign loans are leeches, which can never be removed from the governmental body until they either fall off themselves or the government itself manages to get rid of them. But the Goy governments instead of throwing them off increase their number, so that these governments must inevitably perish through self-inflicted loss of blood.

Indeed, what is a loan, especially a foreign loan, if not a leech? A loan is the issuance of government obligations which involve the liability to pay interest in proportion to the sum borrowed. If the loan pays five per cent, then in twenty years the government has unnecessarily paid in interest an amount equal to the principal sum borrowed. In forty years it has paid twice; in sixty years it has trebled the sum, while the loan still remains an unpaid debt.

THE PROTOCOLS

From this calculation it is evident that under the system of universal taxation the government takes the last penny from the poor taxpayers in the form of taxes in order to pay interest to foreign capitalists, from whom the money was borrowed, instead of collecting these same pennies for its needs free from all interest.

So long as the loans were domestic, the Goys only shifted the money from the pockets of the poor into those of the rich; but when we bribed the proper persons to make the loans foreign, then national riches poured into our hands and all the Goys began to pay us the tribute of subjects.

The carelessness of the reigning Goys in statemanship, the corruption of their ministers, the ignorance of other officials of financial problems, has forced their countries into debt to our banks to such an extent that they can never pay off their debts. It should be realized, however, that we have gone to great pains in order to bring about such a state of affairs.

Impediments to the circulation of money will not be allowed by us, and therefore there will be no government bonds, except one per cent bonds, so that the payment of interest should not deliver the power of the state to the sucking of leeches. The right of issuing bonds will be exclusively granted to industrial corporations, which will easily pay the interest out of their profits. The government, however, does not derive profit on borrowed money as these corporations do, since the state borrows money for expenditure and not for production.

Industrial bonds will also be bought by the government, which instead of being, as at present, the payer of tribute on loans, will become a sound creditor. Such a measure will prevent stagnation in the circulation of money, as well as indolence and laziness, which were useful to us so long as the Goys remained independent, but are not wanted by us in our government.

How apparent is the shortsightedness of the purely bestial brains of the Goys! It manifested itself when they borrowed money for at interest. It did not occur to the Goys that, at any rate, this money, with the additional interest on it, would have to be taken from the resources of the country and paid to us. Would it not have been more simple to take the needed money from their own people?

THE PROTOCOLS

This proves the genius of our distinguished mind, for we were able to present the question of loans to them in such a light that they saw in loans an advantage for themselves.

Our estimates, which we will produce when the time comes, will be based on the experience of centuries, on all those experiments which were conducted by us at the expense of the Goy governments; our estimates will prove to be clear and definite, and will obviously demonstrate the advantage of our new system. They will end all those abuses which made it possible for us to master the Goys, but which cannot be permitted in our reign.

We will so organize the accounting system that neither the sovereign himself nor the most humble clerk will be able to deflect the smallest sum from its destination or direct it into a different channel from that indicated in our original financial plan.

It is impossible to govern without a definite plan. Traveling along a definite road with an indefinite supply of provisions destroys heroes and knights.

The Goy rulers, to whom we once gave advice to neglect governmental duties for grandiose receptions, etiquette, and pleasures, only concealed our rule. The accounts of the powerful favorites who replaced the sovereign were drawn up by our agents, and they always satisfied the shallow minds by promises that in the future there would be savings and improvements. Savings from what? From new taxes? This might have been asked but was not asked by those who read our reports and plans. You know to what their carelessness has led them, what financial disorganization they have reached in spite of the wonderful diligence of their people.

PROTOCOL No. XXI

I WILL add one more detail regarding domestic loans in addition to the report which I made at the last meeting. I will not speak any more of foreign loans, for they filled our coffers with the national money of the Goys. There will be no foreigners in our government, nobody outside.

We profited by the corruption of the administrators and by the negligence of the rulers in receiving sums that were

THE PROTOCOLS

doubled, trebled, and even more, loaning the Goy governments money which in reality was not needed by the states at all. Who could do the same with regard to us? Therefore, I will only set forth details in regard to domestic loans.

In announcing such a loan, the governments open a subscription to their bonds. To make them accessible to all, they vary the denomination from one hundred to thousands, and the first subscribers are allowed to buy below face value. The following day the price is artificially raised on the pretext that everybody hurried to buy the bonds. In a few more days there is a pretense that the treasury is filled and that it is not known what to do with the money, which has been oversubscribed. (What was the use of taking it?) The subscription is evidently considerably in excess of the amount asked for. Therein lies the effect, for it is thus demonstrated that the public has confidence in the government obligations.

But after the comedy has been played the fact of the debt appears, and it is usually a heavy one. In order to pay the interest, new loans have to be issued, which do not liquidate but increase the original debt. Then when the borrowing capacity of the government has been exhausted, it becomes necessary to meet the interest on the loan—not the loan itself—by new taxes. These taxes are nothing but a debit used to cover a debit.

Then comes the period of conversions, but these only decrease the payment of interest while they do not annul the debts. Moreover, they cannot be made without the consent of the bondholders. When a conversion is advertised, an offer is made to return the money to those who are not willing to convert their bonds. If everybody were to demand his money, the government would be caught in its own net and would be unable to return all the money. Fortunately, the Goy subjects, ignorant of financial affairs, always preferred to suffer a fall in the value of their securities and a reduction of interest to the risk of new investments; thus, they have given these governments more than one opportunity of throwing off a deficit of several millions. At present, with the existence of foreign loans, the Goys cannot play such tricks, for they know that we would demand all the money back.

Thus, an avowed bankruptcy will be the best proof of the lack of common interest between the people and their government.

THE PROTOCOLS

I direct your express attention to the above circumstance, as also to the following: At present all domestic loans are consolidated into so-called floating debts; in other words, into those whose terms of payment are more or less close at hand. Such debts consist of money placed in savings banks. Being at the disposal of the government, for a considerable length of time, these funds vanish in the payment of interest on foreign loans, and they are replaced by an equal amount of government securities. *The latter cover all the deficits in the government treasuries of the Goys.*

When we mount the throne of the universe, such financial expedients, being detrimental to our interests, will vanish. We will also destroy all stock exchanges, for we will not allow the prestige of our authority to be shaken by the shifting of the prices of our securities. We will fix the full price of their value legally without any possibility of its fluctuation. (A rise leads to a fall, and this was precisely what we did to the Goy stocks and bonds at the beginning.)

We will replace the stock exchanges by great government credit institutions, whose functions will be to tax commercial values according to governmental plans. These institutions will be in a position to throw daily on the market 500,000,000 shares of industrial stocks, or to buy up a like amount. Thus all industrial enterprises will become dependent upon us. You can well imagine what power that will give us.

PROTOCOL No. XXII

IN all that I have hitherto reported to you I have carefully tried to show you a true picture of the mystery of present events, as also of those of the past, which all flow into the stream of great events, the results of which will be seen in the near future. I have exposed our secret plans which govern our relations with the Goys, as well as our financial policy. There remains but little to add.

We hold in our hands the greatest modern power — gold. In the course of two days we can get it from our treasuries in any desired quantity.

Is there any more need for us to prove that our rule is decreed by God? Do we not prove by such wealth that all the

THE PROTOCOLS

evil which we were forced to do during so many centuries has served in the end to true happiness—to the restoration of order? Although by means of violence, order will nevertheless be established. We will be able to prove that we are benefactors, who have brought true welfare and individual freedom to the tortured world, insuring at the same time the possibility of enjoying peace, quiet, and dignity of relationships, upon the sole condition, of course, that obedience to the laws established by us is practiced. We will also make it clear that freedom does not mean license and in doing whatever people please, no more than dignity and power imply the right to propound destructive doctrines, like freedom of conscience, equality, and similar things. Individual freedom by no means imports the right of disturbing oneself and others, disgracing oneself by making ridiculous speeches in disorderly gatherings, and implies that true liberty means individual inviolability through an honest and strict obedience to social laws; that moreover, human dignity implies the conception of one's rights as well as the idea of legal inhibitions which prohibit fantastic dreams about the *Ego*.

Our power will be glorious because it will be mighty; it will rule and guide, and not helplessly crawl after leaders and orators, shouting insane words which they call great principles, and which in reality are simply Utopian. Our power will lead to order, which, in turn, brings happiness to the people. The prestige of this power will excite mystical adoration, and the peoples will bow before it. True power does not yield to any right, even be it that of God. None will dare approach it in order to deprive it even of an atom of its might.

PROTOCOL No. XXIII

TO teach the people obedience they must be taught modesty, and to accomplish this the production of luxuries must be limited. We will thus improve customs, demoralized by rivalry, resulting from luxury.

We will restore handicraft, which will undermine the private capital of manufacturers. This is necessary, because big manufacturers often influence, although not always consciously, the thoughts of the people against the government.

THE PROTOCOLS

A people, practicing handicraft, does not know what unemployment means, and this makes them cling to existing conditions and consequently to the power of authority. Unemployment is most dangerous for a government. It will have finished its work for us as soon as authority falls into our hands.

Drunkenness will also be forbidden by law and will be punishable as a crime against human decency, for man becomes bestial under the influence of alcohol.

Once more I state, that people obey blindly only the hand that is strong and entirely independent of them, in which they see a sword of defense and a stronghold against the blows of social misfortune. Why should the sovereign have an angel's heart? They want to see in him the personification of might and power.

The sovereign who will replace the present existing governments, dragging along their existence in the midst of a society demoralized by us, which denies even the power of God and from whose midst rises on all sides the flames of anarchy, must primarily undertake to extinguish this all-consuming fire. Therefore, he must destroy such a society, if necessary drown it in its own blood, in order to resurrect it as a well-organized army, which consciously struggles against the infection of any anarchy affecting the state organism.

He, God's elect, is chosen from above for the purpose of crushing the insane forces that are moved by instinct and not by intellect, by bestiality and not by humanitarianism. These forces are now triumphant, and assume the form of robberies and all kinds of violence exercised in the name of liberty and of right. They have destroyed all social order, so as to establish the throne of the King of Israel; but their rôle will be ended with his coming into power. Then it will be necessary to sweep them from his path, on which not a twig or an impediment shall remain.

Then we will say to the peoples: Pray to God and bow before him who bears the mark of predestination, to whom God Himself showed His Star, so that none but He Himself should free you from all sinful forces and from evil.

THE PROTOCOLS

PROTOCOL No. XXIV

NOW I shall refer to the manner in which we will strengthen the dynastic roots of King David so as to cause this dynasty to endure until the last day. This method will consist chiefly of the same principles which enabled our Wise Men to conserve their power to cope with universal problems and to guide the education of the thoughts of humanity at large.

A few members of the seed of David will train the sovereigns and their successors, who will be selected not by right of inheritance, but according to their personal ability. To them the deep political mysteries and the plan of our rule will be confided, but in such a wise manner that nobody will know these secrets. The aim of this method is to prove to all that power will not be given to the uninitiated in the mysteries of political art.

Only such people will be taught how to apply the above mentioned plans in practice, by comparing them with the experiences of many centuries, and only they will be initiated in the conclusions drawn from all the observations of political, economic, and social movements and sciences; in short, only they will know the true spirit of the laws, irrevocably established by nature for the purpose of regulating human relationship.

Direct descendants of the sovereign will often be prevented from inheriting the throne if, during the period of their study, they show signs of frivolity, lenience, or other tendencies detrimental to authority, which would make them incapable of government and dangerous to the prestige of the Crown.

Only those of an undoubtedly able and firm, even cruel character, will receive the reins of government from our Wise Men.

In case of illness, loss of will-power, or any other form of inefficiency, the sovereigns will be compelled to hand over the reins of government to new and able hands.

The sovereign's immediate plan of action and its application in the future will be unknown even to the so-called closest advisers.

Only the sovereign and his three sponsors will know the future.

In the person of the sovereign, with his immovable will over

THE PROTOCOLS

himself and humanity, all will recognize Fate itself with her mysterious paths. Nobody will know the aims of the sovereign when he issues his orders, and thus nobody will dare oppose him.

Naturally the mental capacity of the sovereign must be equal to the plan of rule herein contained. For this reason he will not mount the throne before a test of his mind is made by the above mentioned Wise Men.

To make people know and love their sovereign, it is necessary that he should address the people in public places, thus establishing harmony between the two forces, now separated from each other by mutual terror. This terror was necessary for us until the time came to make both forces fall under our influence.

The King of Israel must not be influenced by his passions, especially by sensuality. No particular element of his nature must have the upper hand and rule over his mind. Sensuality, more than anything else, upsets mental ability and clearness of vision by deflecting thought to the worst and most bestial side of human nature.

The Pillar of the Universe in the person of the World Ruler, sprung from the sacred seed of David, must sacrifice all personal desires for the benefit of his people.

Our sovereign must be irreproachable.